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## *THE NATURALIZATION OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE FAR EAST*

EDWARD CALDWELL MOORE

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

It is sometimes said that Christianity has been so long identified with the West, it has so thoroughly become a Western religion, that it is not adapted to take a great place in the mind and life of the Eastern nations. It is not intended in this remark to overlook the fact that Christianity is itself by origin an Oriental faith, an outgrowth of Judaism. Nor is it denied that, in considerable numbers, men of Oriental race, mainly within the borders of the present Turkish Empire, have from of old confessed Christianity in forms familiar to us in the Greek churches. But these Oriental Christians sustain rather than disprove the judgment which was above expressed. Not only have they shown since before the rise of Mohammedanism no perceptible zeal for the propagation of the Christian faith among other Orientals, but they have reacted powerfully against the propaganda on behalf of Western forms of the Christian faith in their own midst.

What is here meant to be asserted is rather that Christianity, at least as current among those who have been deeply interested in missions, is so largely indebted to Hellenic and Roman and Teutonic culture, so long associated with the civilization of Europe, as to be antipathetic even to the Semitic peoples out of the midst of whom Jesus of Nazareth arose, and totally alien to the remoter Asiatics like the Chinese and Japanese, or even to those who, like the Hindus, share with Europeans at least a common Aryan origin. The Christianity which in fact is offered, whether by Roman Catholic or Protestant emissaries, to these

children of the East in all the pride of their intellectual and spiritual inheritance, is, in the form of its doctrinal statement, the direct result of a history of thought whose field has been mainly the basin of the Mediterranean and, more recently, Western and Northern Europe. It is, in the form of its organization, so palpably the reflection of conditions which for ages prevailed in Europe that that form cannot be understood among us without reference to these facts, and ought not to be offered to others without acknowledgment of these facts. The phase of Christianity which is likely now to be carried to the East by zealous adherents is, in its form of worship, the direct deposit of the feeling and experience of a more or less defined group of races which have a common aesthetic as well as intellectual tradition. And finally, the ethical assumptions, or at all events the moral emphases, the whole type of life both public and private, in which this Christianity has expressed itself, the conduct it has fostered, not to say the institutions which it has produced, are those which have been evolved mainly within the area of the history of European morals.

Yet, whether from the side of the Roman Catholics or of the Protestants, those who have been eager for the propagation among Eastern peoples of the faith dear to themselves have not been, for the most part, of those who were prepared to make these sweeping admissions. Or, to put it differently, those who have been prepared to make these admissions have not been, until recently, in numbers among those who have been moved by an enthusiasm for their own faith and belief in its saving efficacy for others which launches men upon a propaganda involving isolation and reproach. The appeal of the missionary career, in the early stages of the work, is primarily not so much to the reflective as to the active, not to say the heroic, qualities in men. Its demand is for those qualities which pioneers, explorers, and adventurers show, for the men whom Stevenson describes as "mighty men of their hands, the smiters and builders, the judges who have lived long and done sternly," who have not always indeed hesitated when they might, but who at all events reveal that the world was not made in hesitation. The career has gathered to itself men who have loved their cause and their fellows and have created

problems which very possibly require for their solution other gifts than those which the pioneers themselves possessed.

A work thus inaugurated comes to a point where it needs pondering, solemn review, and sympathetic questioning. It has need of much that a man may do in his study. It has need of that which a man much in his study may see with his eyes when he transports himself to the field. It has need of the man of much study who will spend his whole life in the field. It has need of continual readjustment of its measures, not to say even transformation of its ideals, as in its maturer stages it meets the maturer and more complex problems of the mind and life of the nations to which it has gone. It has need of perennial reconsideration of its own principles and of its own nature in the light of that which its experience reveals. And not the least of the services of the endeavor to propagate Christianity among alien races is that which this effort renders to the understanding of Christianity itself. If certain assumptions concerning Christianity which have obtained largely unquestioned within areas where Christianity has been long in the ascendant are found to be baseless, inadequate, or perverse, surely we have cause to be grateful to those whose wider contacts tend to rid us of our provincialisms, to rebuke us for our pharisaisms, and to bring home to us some sense of the simplicity, the vital quality, the self-transforming capacity, of that which in our Christianity we really do possess.

It is beyond question that the most of those who have, at any time thus far, been ardent for the propagation of Christianity among alien races have done so under one form or another of the assumption that Christianity is an absolute religion—the absolute religion—destined to be universal because absolute. For some of those this assumption has gone even farther. It has amounted practically to the conviction that the form in which they themselves had experienced the blessings of Christianity was identical with the whole revelation of God for the religious life of man. By this assumption they have stayed their souls on the Eternal in all the vicissitudes of their endeavor. By this they have without doubt moved multitudes and do now move them. When ever has not the conviction of the absolute been a source of peace and again of might to those whom it possessed? When ever is

not that conviction, put forth by some, profoundly impressive to others? This ring of certainty has had much to do with the success of any propaganda. When ever did a doubter win men to the overcoming of their doubts or lead them to the abandonment of that which they had deemed assured?

The conception of the absoluteness of Christianity and the place of Christianity in the history of religion has been much discussed of recent years. It is to most men so obvious, once their attention has been called to it, that a religion cannot be in the same sense both absolute and historic, that the time seems opportune for the illumination of this theme from current experience as well. It seems fitting to set that proposition in the light of facts such as may be witnessed in the Orient at the present moment, and to test it by observations of the living contact of Christianity with the living faiths of the East. If it has concluded to clearness that men should debate in what sense it is possible to allege that Christianity is absolute and in what sense not, no less do we free ourselves from embarrassment and gather power from the perception of the relativity of Christianity. Prolonged administrative experience, observation on the field, the compulsion to formulate one's reflections and if possible to shape a policy—these should contribute something toward the bringing to a fruitful conclusion a discussion which only too easily may become abstract and remote. Exactly through these the theoretical propositions issuing from the comparative study of religions should be made more helpful to the cause of Christian missions and more useful to the understanding of our own Christianity, with which we must ever be afresh and without fear concerned.

We were saying that without doubt, with many of those who have been engaged in the missionary endeavor in the East, that certainty of Christian experience out of which they speak has been unconsciously expanded into a conviction of the absoluteness of the form of faith and practice in which they themselves have been born and bred. What could be more natural with these than the assumption that other men would have the great experience of conversion and of progress in the Christian life under the same forms with themselves? We all have a feeling somewhat akin

to this concerning the atmosphere of the home in which we were born, the tradition of the family stock and neighborhood, the nation to which we belong, the maxims of the early discipline which we received. It is only by experience and reflection that we are made aware how many other homes there are, how many other traditions and inheritances, other environments and stimuli. We realize that through these others have had experiences which were for them of absolute worth. And, coming to religion, did not the earliest disciples of Jesus, having received still as Jews from him, a Jew, the precious experience of truth and grace and of redeeming power, assume that all others must receive that experience with the same appendages and in the same way? Was not that the gist of the great struggle between them and Paul? Was not that the crisis and parting of the ways of the earliest Christianity, typical of all other crises and partings of the ways which have been ever since? Indeed it is not half so wonderful that ten men, and those the personal disciples of the Master, stuck fast in this notion of the absoluteness of their Judaism, as that there was found even one, and he a man who had not seen the Master, who had the insight and courage to rebuke them to their faces, and to have his whole life made at once miserable and glorious because of his unfaltering adherence to his vision of the greater meaning of the Master's gospel which possessed him. And are we not, as we said in our initial sentence, Western Christians, or—to put it more correctly—being Western, are we not Christians, in the sense of our own real experience, only because Paul and men like him insisted that the Gospel in going to the West should leave what was Eastern and Semitic behind it? They urged that it should become Greek to the Greek, Roman in Rome, African to the Carthaginians, Gallic to Gauls, Teutonic at the last to our own ancestors. It was not merely clothed with the garments of new times and places but fed with the food, vitalized with the rich blood, of the new races, domesticated, naturalized, nationalized, transmitted from father to son, as all part and parcel of the mystery of the transmission of life. All futile, impertinent, and unpardonable obstacles were to be left behind. The inward spirit of it was to be so merged with new traits as to be no longer identical with its old self in any sense save this, that

what had blessed some men in Galilee under the terms inviolable, human, and therefore divine, of real religious experience which Galileans naturally had, now blessed peoples then unheard of, and still blesses us. That is the old, the perennial story.

We in turn must have so great a faith as to realize that though we cannot set ourselves outside of our own skins one whit more than could Paul outside his Rabbinism, though we cannot personally shed our Occidentalisms when we cross the Hellespont trending eastward, any more than could Paul divest himself of his Orientalisms when he crossed it passing west, yet we anticipate that the faith we bear will leave wholly behind it many of the forms, dear to us, in which we bear it. It will not perpetuate itself as a mere imitation, but as the life of men who live. It will transform them indeed, but, exactly in that measure, be itself transformed into a likeness past all our forecasting. It will be the life in God as revealed through Christ to the soul of the Chinese man. It will be this or it will be nothing to the Chinese man. Paul's own inheritance was too much for him. The Judaism of his teaching is often as pronounced as is the anti-Judaism of his practice. He cannot forget the things which he breathed since his earliest breath and drank with his mother's milk. But had the ordinary destiny of literature befallen the letters which he left, or had the Church come earlier to a truer sense wherein the inspiration of those rare letters lay, nothing could have prevented the complete decomposition of Paul's cherished forms of argumentation, like the corn of wheat which falls into the ground and dies. Nothing but that strange fate which ultimately gave to Paul's lightest letter the same kind of value as a verbal oracle which Paul himself assigned to Law and Prophets could have committed men removed from him by fifty generations and by half the circumference of the earth to the endeavor to find in those incidental elements of synagogue dialectic the forms in which we still must believe in our own Christ. Meantime the whole logic of Paul's life-contention and the whole history of the Occidental churches which he gave his life to found proved just the contrary. They expressed the deep meaning of the Gospel and the spirit of Paul's adored Master in forms Paul never would have dreamed.

In the same manner, we cannot go to the Orient as other than

the Western men we are. And when we put on Chinese coats and have a thin blond queue projecting from the fringe a British bald spot makes, we do but make the matter worse, not better, it would seem. We cannot expect to be taken seriously when we are always playing a part. We understand the Gospel in the way we do in the wake of an immemorial inheritance. It is ours to speak it as we understand. Not in one lifetime nor in nine, could these be given us, should we surely see things as the Chinese man sees, who not only has not our inheritance, but who has one, vivid and immemorial, of his own. We do not need to torture ourselves to see Christianity otherwise than as we do or as we imagine that the Chinese man may see it. The problem of the transmission of faith is easier than that. The level of the transfusion of the blood of religion is different from that. Least of all need we join the ranks of those who deem that nothing can be done until we arrive at a statement of the essence of Christianity. The pursuit of the philosopher's stone is not more futile than that notion, and this for the simplest of reasons: so soon as you have stated this essence, it ceases to be essence and becomes a concrete, a local, temporal, personally conditioned, partial, and passing embodiment of that essence. We might as well say that we will transmit nothing but the pure spirit of learning to our pupils. We cannot do that. We can only with joy impart to them such scraps of learning as we have, with all their imperfections on their heads, and hope that in the process students may catch something of the spirit of learning which will make them living and life-giving in the field of scholarship, and cause their achievements to be greater and better than our own have been. There is, therefore, something sublime in this faith of the Christian man as he goes among men and takes in simple courage and good cheer the faith which he has, the character which he is, the spirit which Christ has enabled him to be, and, without blinking his own imperfections or being deterred from work by those who insistently remind him of them, yet trusts that God will make all but the true life of his religion to rot as the mere body of it, but will also make that true life of religion to prevail among the men over whom he yearns, and in them and in their world to have what body God shall please.

But, as we were saying, quite the opposite of these ideas has prevailed in the large in both the Roman Catholic and the Protestant communions. In the one the forms of sound doctrine, organization, and practice, stand identified with Christianity, and Christianity with these. Their truth and permanence has been guaranteed by the authoritative tradition of the Church—a tradition which in the last analysis is regarded as infallible. The greatest wonder of the long history of this Church is the flexibility which it has shown, its power of adaptation to most varied circumstances. In its missionary practice it has shown a disposition to accommodate itself to the ideas and customs of the peoples whom it set out to win for which it has indeed been often bitterly reproached. It is curious, therefore, that this Church should appear to be unconscious of the principle which these concessions illustrate. It has been most confident in its assertion that it has never changed and will remain unchangeable, all the while that it is in itself the greatest witness of the transformation which we have suggested through the influence of the environment in the midst of which it has worked.

On the other hand, the Protestant churches deemed that they went back to the New Testament. They believed that they reached a statement of faith, a form of government and practice, guaranteed by that Testament, and having something of the same inviolability which appertained to that New Testament. The tradition was declared to be human and errant, but the document which lay at the source of the tradition to be divine, infallible. It was not perceived that even if men could perform the miracle of transporting themselves thus from the sixteenth century to the first, not even thus could they escape that contingency and relativity which belongs to everything that is historical. On the whole, it is but fair to say that the Protestant missions have been far more shy of "accommodation," as it has been called, to the principles and practices of the non-Christian peoples among whom they worked than have the Roman Catholics, and that for a creditable reason. They have had less confidence, or rather no confidence, in mere external relation to the Church and in the saving efficacy of its sacraments. They have been less tempted to work for numbers and imposing visible results. They have

cared less that their converts should be influential in state and society. They have worked more for inward and spiritual transformation as antecedent to all others. But it cannot be said that the sensitiveness about accommodation, however well grounded, has tended to make the Protestant missions appear to be more liberal than the Roman Catholic, but rather less so. It has made their emissaries to appear to be more insistent on a certain, necessarily Occidental, form of statement of faith and practice of devotion and outward shaping of the life, as the essential prerequisite of their converts being allowed to bear the Christian name at all. We are confronted with the singular anomaly that those missions which have said with perfect truth that they desired only to teach men in their inward spirit, that they cared nothing for form, have yet achieved, in those whom they have profoundly influenced, such a reproduction of the typical religious experience as we are familiar with it here at home, such an acceptance even of our forms of statement of the mysteries of faith, and such a conformity to traditional Protestant, not to say denominational, practices, as the Roman Catholic, working in his less intensive way, never achieves, and possibly never designs or desires. One going into a Hindu or Chinese Christian church is positively astounded to see how completely some of the converts represent, seemingly to the minutest detail, the type with which we are familiar in the devout life of our churches here at home.

But these converts, much as we may rejoice in that which is undoubtedly genuine in them, give us food for reflection. They surely represent the intense influence of devoted missionaries upon some. But they surely are witnesses of the fact that this Christianity, real as it is, is still exotic. They are too much like ourselves for us to have the deeper joy of them we seek. They are the proof of the still ascendant influence of the foreigner. They are the evidence that among them Christianity is not yet naturalized. They explain how their compatriots may come to look upon the Christian as denationalized, and on conversion as equivalent to alienation; upon adherence to the Westerners' faith as proof that one has gone over absolutely to the stranger. Such phenomena may indeed be an evidence of the intensity and power of conviction with which Christianity has been taught in foreign

lands and of the revolutionary effect which it has without doubt had upon individuals. They show the complete displacement of previous convictions in such individuals, the transformation, not to say transfiguration, in feeling and life which these have undergone. They may be the indices upon the part of certain peoples or of certain strata of these peoples of almost complete receptivity toward the thoughts and the example and impulse given by the stranger from the West. Of the people of India the remark has often been made that, probably as the result of the age-long domination of one conqueror after another, they are in considerable degree pliant to foreign influence, and, despite the proverbial conservatism of the East, are liable in individual cases to go over to the standard of the stranger with an unreserve which seems amazing. The emissary of the foreign religion has already reaped in some measure the unhappy consequences of his identification with the military, civil, social, and commercial conquests of his race. He is certain to reap those injurious consequences in yet larger measure still. But momentarily he did reap an advantage. So soon as he advanced to the point where he made any impression at all, he impressed his constituency with the almost absolute contrast of that type of thought, feeling, life, which he offered to that which he found. He was able to win over some almost without reservation or resistance to this contrasting type. Perhaps he felt, and perhaps they felt, that only by this breach with the convert's past, this practical denial of his antecedents, this separation from his environment, this projection along a new path, could the integrity of his faith, the purity of his life, the characteristic element of his experience, be preserved. In many cases this may have been so. But the question is a far larger one than of the individual case. The question would not be answered by the accumulation of such cases. The question is, Is this multiplication of the foreign type what the Christianization of these lands would mean? Is this a practicable aim, upon the largest possible scale and for an indefinite time? Is it a goal which ever can be attained? Is it a goal which, when we calmly consider, we even wish to attain?

Meantime portentous changes are taking place, with which we must bear reckoning if we are to achieve anything further.

These changes affect both the missionary himself and those to whom he bears his message. It is sometimes cavalierly assumed that those alterations in the apprehension of Christianity which have taken place in the intellectual centres of Christendom within the nineteenth century, and which are beginning profoundly to affect the Christian body at home, have been as yet largely unfelt by the Christian representatives and their following abroad. Observation does not confirm that view. That all missionaries are thus affected is not asserted. That all ministers, or even laymen, here at home are thus visibly affected, probably would not be claimed. But that some veterans in the field, and some others, younger in years, who have escaped an obsolete style of training, are as much touched by the modern movement of thought as are any among ourselves may be affirmed. It would seem that the thoughtful among these persons stand over against the non-Christian world in a relation very similar to that in which the early Church stood in the face of the Graeco-Roman world. They are able to judge of principles and practices, not merely theoretically, as we may do from our studies, but in the actual contact with the persons to whom these faiths are a living reality, with institutions which they have created, and with a public and private life which they have inspired. Other things being equal, these men are in a better position to judge the faiths with which their own is brought into comparison, and to judge them by their influence and actual achievement. In like manner they are in a better position to judge their own faith, not by that which has been traditionally claimed for it, or even solely by that for which it may have stood in their own personal experience, but by the power which it shows in actual competition for the allegiances of men, the power to work a real redemption of men in the world and of the world through men. They are in a position to form a just and generous estimate of the great historic faiths which dominate the Orient, of the strength of these and of their weaknesses, of their points of contrast with Christianity and of resemblance to the same, of the virtues which they breed and of the vices which they cause or tolerate, as well as of the vices rampant in Christendom and still more on the fringe of Christendom in the isolation of the East.

It is certain, moreover, that the spread of Western education in the East, the increasing number of youths of standing and ability who from the East are being educated in the West, are exerting a levelling influence the full effect of which has been yet by no means felt. In the vast population of India, despite the long fidelity of the British government and of the missions and in spite of the zeal of some classes of the Indians, it is yet only a small portion of the people which is moved. In the still vaster population of China the agitation and upheaval is but just beginning. In Japan, with its small population, its compact area, its excellent means of communication, with the instincts of leadership by an enlightened minority inherited from the feudal age, and with a political situation which pushed Japan forward for self-preservation as no nation in the world was ever pushed, the movement has been successful almost beyond belief. Japan stands already among the great educated and educating nations in the world. The view which these countries have had and are now having through the residence of their youth in our universities; the impression they derive of the standing of Christianity within Christendom, of the shortcomings and delinquencies of our civilization at home as well as abroad, of the contrast between the ideal and the actual, of the friction of the sects among themselves and the alienation of a large part of the public from them all—these observations, with the testimony of travellers and the witness of the press, are not likely to make just the Christian propaganda to stand out from all the mass of things, European and American, which in the Orient have lost prestige, as the one which has not thus suffered loss. Quite the contrary, the nemesis of the connection between the mission work and national ambitions, international complications and race agitations, commercial exploitations, and what not, is upon us. In a far higher degree than we really have been responsible for these, we shall be complicated in the issues. For having once, even only in a left-handed way, profited by these, or only not sufficiently rebuked them, we shall have with our own right hand to help to pay the bill. If the native was once too pliant to the foreigner, too easily influenced, he may turn out to be not pliant enough, and not easily influenced even when the reasons for being influenced might be very good.

If he was once too ready to abandon his own faith for that of another, there may come a time when he will be altogether adverse to the religion of the foreigner, and that not because he is more faithful to his own, but because he has lost all serious interest in any. He will have become secularized in the wake of this vast secular movement in the midst of which he is, materialized, paganized, with the real paganism, of which there is plenty in America, having lost his interest in anything except dollars and pleasures, and in this also adopted the attitude of many here at home.

Many things have made for great change in the aspect of the self-consciousness of the peoples of the Far East within a generation. Pride of race, fidelity to the tradition of a great past, these races have always had. But its directest working was to make them ardently desire to perpetuate their isolation and to shut out the Occidental with all his ways and works. This spirit animated the dealings of Japan with the West until well within the lifetime of men now living. It animated the official course of China until the year 1900. But there came a change in Japan all the motives of which we do not fully know. The central element in that change was the perception on the part of the Japanese leaders that the old policy of isolation, the effort to maintain the hermit position, was a mistaken method. With the resources then at the command of Japan, every outbreak of popular feeling—often natural and just—against the encroachment of the foreigner led only to yet more damaging encroachment, to fresh concessions wrung from a helpless people. It was clear that the end sought would have to be gained by a path precisely the opposite of that which had thus far been pursued. Whereas heretofore nothing was to be learned from the foreigner, now everything was to be learned from him, or at all events everything was to be learned about him, in order that the people of the Island Empire might meet the foreigner on his own ground. Japan was to become other than her traditional self in order that she might remain herself. There was at one time even too great an avidity for things foreign, merely as foreign, and not necessarily as true. There was some too light-hearted parting with things beautiful and germane to the real character of the race.

One saw far too much of the impress of what is mistaken and unworthy, of what is stupid and vulgar and utterly disheartening, in our own civilization. In so great a metamorphosis it is likely that such a state of things was for a time inevitable. But whatever hallucination men may once have indulged, no one now imagines that this great transformation—one of the most wonderful episodes in human history—took place because the Japanese had lost their national sense. Rather, we see clearly that it was the strong race-sense, the passionate national consciousness, a patriotism which has thrilled the world, which was the deep underlying motive and true explanation of the transformation. No one who reflects upon the use made by the Japanese three years ago of the sciences and art of war by land and sea, of the hygiene of camps and transportation, of remedial measures of the hospital or the battlefield; no one who compares their commissariat with our own in 1898 or that of Great Britain in South Africa in 1900; no one who studies the Japanese constitution, the procedure of the courts, the methods of taxation, the organization of railways, telegraphs, express service, and the post; no one who has sailed in their ships and watched their commercial navy eating up the trade of the Pacific; no one who has listened in their universities, been conducted through their schools, can any longer dream that Japan is playing with some one else's weapons, imitating other people's methods, and walking in the foreigners' way. These things they have absolutely made their own. Through them they express themselves. Each year will see less and less of the incongruous and superficial and more of true assimilation, vital reproduction, more of the resurgence of the mighty spirit of the race.

And what has happened for Japan may be predicted, with the modifications which belong to it, for China too; all the more because Japan has given to China ocular demonstration that this is the path to tread if China also is ever to be rid of a foreign aggression which has already cost her much, and has seemed at times certain to cost her more. The differences between the two peoples with which we must needs reckon are many and striking. The vast numbers of the Chinese, their lack of homogeneousness as compared with the Japanese, the greatness of their territory,

and the scant means of communication as yet, the weakness of the central government and the lack of any veneration of the Chinese for it, the want of anything resembling the leadership which the old nobility gave to Japan, the militant democratic trait of the Chinese—these considerations and others like them may make the movement slower. The episode of 1900 was the end of an era. It was sufficiently dramatic to be ever remembered as such. There are possibilities of revolution which no man can reckon with. But, though a revolution of national proportions might jeopardize incidentally the foreigner in life and property, no such attempt in principle to rid the nation of the foreigner is any longer probable. Slow as are the peasants in the interior provinces to understand what the viceroys on the coast are trying to do, the sense surely has penetrated China that there are far shrewder things to do with the foreigner than to kill him. From the stranger much is to be learned. All that he brings is to be used. The exploiter is to be exploited. That the Chinese man loves the foreigner better than he used to do there is no reason to believe. But “China for the Chinese,” the cry ever on men’s lips, means a different thing from that which it meant only ten years ago. It means an aim the legitimacy of which we cannot for a moment question. In an antagonism some phases of which we may deplore, we do well to remember that there are causes of that antagonism of which we men of the West cannot be proud. Of the issue of this movement in the long run it would seem that no one can be in doubt. It will be a China open to the world, not merely in the sense of travel or even only of commerce. It will be a China open to the world, not merely diplomatically or socially but also intellectually and morally. It will be a China profoundly influenced by the world, but profoundly influencing the world in turn, in a way that we have never looked to China for influence. It will leave us the superiority precisely in those things in which we are superior and in no others. It will be a China not passively recipient of education and religion from the West. It will be a China intelligently receptive, in the end, only of those aspects of the intellectual or Christian life of the West which are really profitable for China, and rejecting all the rest. It will be a China so vividly transforming that which it does

receive as to become an interpreter in its own fresh way of the inner meaning and the further consequences of Christianity to those from whom the Chinese have received that faith.

Of one thing we may speak with confidence. The enlarging of the so-called spheres of influence to which the Powers in 1901 so ardently looked forward, and from which they were perhaps only by their own dissensions held back, the virtual partitioning of China which was to be the prelude to the overt and formal partition that once seemed to the over-confident Europeans so easy—that occupation would surely not have retarded, it could but have accelerated, the awakening of China. It would have increased the embitterment which everybody now is trying to allay. It would have given the foreigner more territory to defend, whereas he is just now sufficiently doubtful about being able to defend what he already has. The issue of the war with Russia shows that the task would have involved in the maintaining of these armies of occupation an expenditure of men and money of which no one in those days dreamed. It might easily have involved the Powers in conflict with one another. If persisted in, it might easily have precipitated a conflict of China with no small portion of the Western world. Such a conflict men would then have jeered to hear suggested. But when one thinks of the numbers of the Chinese, of the potential wealth of China, and of the strides of her recent military development, no one is jeering now. The moral, intellectual, and even commercial influence of the West upon China may in the end be far greater because certain things which were then supposed to make for the might of Europe in the East were not done, and because it is absolutely certain now that they never will be done.

No one can maintain that those portions of China in which the foreigner, of whatever nationality, has had least disputed sway have been the regions in which the best fruit of Christian teaching has been shown. They have been the regions in which, for missionary and merchant alike, not merely a theoretical extra-territoriality under treaty could be claimed, but in which, through the volunteer militia company within the Concession or through the gunboat off the Bund, that extra-territoriality could on a moment's notice be enforced. It cannot be said, however, that

these were conditions ideally adapted for the making of the true impression of the Gospel of the Prince of Peace. These have been the regions in which, indeed, foreign virtues of the highest order have been shown, but, as well, foreign vices of the most scandalous sort have cried to Heaven. If under the benign régime of governments sufficiently far away, and not certain to be in accord, although their subjects in emergency were sure through thick and thin to stand together, an occasional pharisee made broad his phylacteries, at all events it must be conceded that there were many publicans and sinners too. Even now it might occasionally go hard with a foreigner in a Chinese court. It goes hard also with a Chinaman at times in a Chinese court. But the time cannot be far away when to the Chinese also, as to the Japanese in the years after the adoption of their Constitution, this extra-territoriality of the foreigner will come to seem to be an insufferable indignity, a violence to the nation's honor which must be done away. We should hail every advance in China which tends to make possible its doing away.

And as if it were not enough that the foreigner, both good and bad, should be beyond the jurisdiction of the government upon whose soil he lives, some one in a moment of enthusiasm wrung from the Chinese government the concession that even a Chinese convert to the foreigners' religion might enjoy a partial extra-territoriality. At least the dealings of his government with its own citizen might be reviewed officially or unofficially by a subject of a foreign power, to see if that citizen were not being persecuted for his faith. One can never be sufficiently amazed that at the time of the adoption of this clause in the treaties there seems to have been no forecast among those who had the cause of truth and goodness at heart of the immeasurable evil which this would work. But you do wonder that it was not foreseen that never, so long as such ruling obtained, could Christianity make any progress toward naturalization in the land. Never by any possibility could it get beyond being the religion of foreigners and of those who found it profitable to cast in their lot with the foreigner to the possible detriment of the institutions, and in violence to the just sentiment, of their native land. We must suppose that at the time when Christian men made this provision and rejoiced in it

they did not clearly look forward to that kind and degree of naturalization of Christianity in China which seems to us the ideal. They did not realize overwhelmingly, as we have come to do, that Christianity in China must become native or nothing. Only in becoming native has Christianity ever meant anything to any people. The very reason why the forms in which we know and love Christianity are potent to us is that they are the forms in which the spiritual impulse which Christianity is took shape all naturally among our own ancestors. And the very fact that they are natural to us makes them unnatural, and in the end impossible, to other men. The function of the living and loving emissary of Christianity and of the doctrines and practices which he knows about is only a temporary one. The very purpose of them is that they shall function just so long as to bring the life of a new race into contact with the truth, and then they shall cease to be. The new race untrammelled and, as well, uncoddled is to have its own way with Christianity, or Christianity will never have its way with that race.

We have dwelt long upon these external parallels because they seem to bring home with tremendous force the thing we wish to say. The time will come when the Gospel will be preached in China and the Christian Church built up—or else will fail to be built up—for the same reasons and under the same conditions in which the Gospel is preached and the Church built up in England or the United States. We may rejoice in that prospect. The period of tutelage has been long enough. At all events it has been long enough to develop, with the virtues, also the weaknesses which are developed under tutelage. And, whether we will or no, we are being forced to the period in which we must take all the risks, suffer the evils, bear the trials, and reap also the excellent consequences in character—our own and that of those whom we instructed—of a period whose ideals are far different from those of tutelage. To say that the days of missionary usefulness are over is absurd. It would be more true to say that they are just fairly begun. But the days are over of the kind of influence and the method of exerting it which have perhaps on the whole in the past preponderated, and that often with very good effect. The difficulties of the older situation were great. In face of such resistance

as China offered to Morrison and those who followed him any success was admirable, and the success achieved amazing. But the difficulties of the propaganda for Christianity in a China open to us as it is today are not less great. They are certainly of a different sort. The thing which grows upon us as we think of these nations whose problem is ever more and more like our own is that there is no barbarism among them which is not also here at our own doors. There is no real heathenism among them the like of which is not illustrated in our own community. There is no dark shadow of immorality and superstition among them which has not its parallel in our own midst. There is no faith of men sincerely held which has not done for them something of that which our own faith has done for us. And a faith, even if it be our own, insincerely held, can hardly be expected to accomplish on the other side of the world what it cannot do on this. In face of some things which we might mention in our own recent history, we hesitate to call other nations uncivilized. It needs explanation to our own soberer selves and to others when we make bold to call this a Christian nation. And there are some of us who have almost laid away the appellation "heathen," or when we bring it out for service are quite as likely to apply it to inhabitants of avenues in our own country as to the denizens of the heart of Africa or of the islands of the sea.

We may deplore the fact that the problem of all the other nations, even of those old Oriental ones, is so fast becoming so much like our own. We may deplore this devastating advance through the East of the Western type. We may even waste time in recrimination as to whether the merchant opened the country for the missionary, or the missionary for the man of trade. That makes little difference now. The one thing which stands out in the religious relation is this: that if Christianity in the East remains an exotic—English, German, or American; Roman Catholic or Protestant; Anglican, Puritan, conservative, or radical, as we count these differences—it will be among the things which, as meaningless for the future of China, will be swept away. If in its moral and spiritual force, its idealism and optimism, in its law of service and of sacrifice, in its comfort and inspiration, as the stay of private goodness and of public virtue, it holds the hearts

of the Chinese, and the Chinese hold it in their hearts and express it freely in their own lives and institutions, its spreading in his land the Chinese man cannot permanently prevent. If it gives him more hold upon what is greatest in human life than does his Buddhism or his Confucianism, it will dominate him in the end in spite of these. If it does not give him such hold upon what is greatest in life, we should not wish it to dominate him. If we have any real faith in our own religion, we believe it will be so. If we have no such faith in our religion itself, then how can we have any faith in the paltry things which we may do in its name?

But indeed, if we have ever lacked this kind of confidence in the inward spirit of Christianity; if we have ever doubted its ability to adapt itself to new and strange conditions, its capacity to transform nations and incidentally itself to undergo the most radical of transformations, that must be because we have forgotten how great a transformation Christianity has already undergone in its march from one region to another people. We have not reflected how alien to its Jewish, Hellenic, Roman self it has in time become, in order that it might be to us Teutons and Saxons what it is. We forget how recent are many forms which we call ancient, and how much of what we deem essentially Christian is not Christian at all! No aspect of Church History is at the present moment claiming more attention from scholars than the survivals in Christianity of the forms of thought, feeling, and action of the earlier faiths, which Christianity would thus appear not wholly to have displaced. No study is more interesting or instructive than that of the deposit in the types of Christianity successively current from the media through which it had to work. That Christianity was itself primarily a religious revival within Judaism; that its first adherents, and even the Lord himself, were devout Jews—the evidence of all this is written broad and long both in the Synoptic Gospels and by Paul. That this strong Judaic element, these traits of the old upon which the new life of Christianity was grafted, were not eliminated for generations, nay more, that, owing to the peculiar standing given them as witnessed in the inspired Scripture, they are even now only beginning to be generally recognized as Jewish survivals and eliminated—this may be regarded as among the assured results of New

Testament study. No sooner did Christians pass beyond Palestine, even only to the Jews in Alexandria and Asia, than Christianity accommodated itself to the forms current in the centres of Hellenic influence upon Judaism. These things are evidenced in the thought and life implied in the Epistle to the Hebrews and in the Fourth Gospel. The same thing is yet more evident when we look at the witness of the writings of the Apologists and of the early Fathers, Greek, Roman, African, and of whatever racial and cultural affinity they were. Nothing is more impressive than to behold how those who most rejoiced in the conquest of the pure Gospel in the world, those to whom the pagan life about them was but the proof of an evil spirit, and pagan thought but the pathetic evidence of the powerlessness and error of the human mind, yet themselves never write or speak or act but they give evidence of being profoundly influenced by that life and mind. Conquer the Western world they did, these glowing advocates of a vital faith, these exponents of a new religious power. But into every institution which they framed, into every system of instruction in the faith which they put forth, into the methods of defence of that same faith which they devised, they took up all unknowingly, and in a profound sense all rightfully, elements fundamental to the life and thought which they deposed. In the long retrospect of centuries we perceive that it was exactly by these elements which they unwittingly wrought into composition with the characteristic impulse of their faith that they conquered as they did. In these elements lay their temptation and their weakness often, to be sure; but in these elements lay also one of the secrets of their strength and achievement as well. Books have been written to show how, in the seething caldron of the nations which the Roman Empire in the two centuries after Jesus had become, elements of religion the most incongruous were mingled, and composite types arose. Syncretism was the trait. Surely it is a most naïve assumption that in the midst of this religious syncretism the Christian religion alone stood, and through the generations, through the ebb and flow of races in the mobile population of the vast united Empire, Christianity alone remained unquickened and unimpaired. The Christianity of the basin of the Mediterranean, the Christianity which we inherit,

is itself a syncretistic religion. If it had not been such, we never should have inherited it. The creeds the Church has cherished, the systems on which it has relied, are the children of the fruitful union of that Jewish revival of religion which the earliest Christianity was with the intellectual genius of the Greeks. The institutions which are to us traditional are the fruit of the reaction of Jewish, Hellenic, and Roman impulses to order and efficiency in the social combinations of mankind. Was the eremite, the monastic, the coenobitic ideal, which played such a part down to the Reformation, a Christian impulse? Was the priesthood as a class a Christian notion? Was the dual standard of life for spirituals and for other people within the implications of Christ's teaching? Was asceticism a thing native to Christianity? Was the contrast of the sacred and secular Jesus' notion? Was not the substitutionary thought of the atonement a reminiscence of Teutonic social order? Or, to come to things small, is not a Christmas tree a pagan symbol? Are not many of the customs of our religious festivals the result of the partial infusion of the Christian spirit into ancient popular customs too dear to be taken away from a converted people by the converting priests? Are not some of the saints in the calendar faint recollections of the heroes of folk-lore? Is not the whole worship of the saints, as it dominated the Middle Age, the metamorphosis of a polytheism which was never so far put away as to need to be brought back?

And are not some phases of faith now dead to us the living phases with men who stand at the same point in the religious experience at which our ancestors stood not so long ago? When the Hottentot reads in the Bible about witches, the missionary, with his modern sense about the Bible, is hard put to it to maintain for the Hottentot his belief in the Scripture and at the same time to rid him of his murderous superstition about witches. The poor man believed in witches before he ever saw a Bible. For the moment he believes in them the more, and not the less, because the Bible seems to sustain him in his belief. But so did the Bible prove the witches to our own Massachusetts forbears; and, fortified by the Bible, they too committed abominable crimes and lived in nameless fear. In China it will be pointed out to you that the Scripture of the New Testament gives color to the

belief in demoniacal possession. In confirmation of the Scripture the Chinese believe in demoniacal possession too. All China is, so to say, permeated with this belief. A book written by a missionary not many years ago cites possibly a hundred examples of unquestionably authentic experiences in China, to show that phenomena of demoniacal possession occur in China precisely similar to those recorded in the Scripture. The Chinese explanation of these phenomena is the same as that offered in the words of the Scripture. By these examples the Scripture is supposed to be defended against criticism, and it is made certain that men were and are possessed.

A missionary said that he thought it had been almost a generation since, in the field with which he was familiar, a Western emissary of Christianity had preached material hell fire and the physical torment of the lost. He doubted if the natives of the younger generation had ever heard from a foreigner an exposition of Scripture looking in that direction. And yet there were native preachers, when they went off on their preaching tours, making men tremble, as Edwards in Northampton made our fathers tremble too. Did not the Scriptures speak of a hell fire? Does not the Chinese man in his legal processes resort to torture? But is it so long since our own fathers also depicted their God as an Oriental Sovereign, ruling without a code, or even having a code which might conceivably reverse the maxims of what seems true and good to mortal men? These seem to be most interesting examples of the contact of the Gospel with the rudimentary notions and sad mistakes of men. They remind us, right from the face of our own Scriptures, how the spiritual impulse of the Gospel passed through a period of amalgamation with notions which are not true and do not make for the good. It may be almost in the same order and sequence that a new race, in contact with the Gospel, will pass through some of those same amalgamations too.

Quite apart from the idea of the saving efficacy of the Sacraments and other ideas belonging to its ecclesiastical theory, the Roman Catholic Church has, as is well known, always pursued in its missionary activities a policy which is in fundamental contrast with the prevailing Protestant practice, and which has had

some interesting consequences for that aspect of the history of missions of which we speak. The Roman Catholic communion has assumed, namely, that the true course in the training of a race to Christian conviction and practice is that which identifies the convert with the Church almost so soon as his consent can be gained. It cares for his education in Christian knowledge and his training in Christian character, so as to say, from the inside. It frankly sets Christian maturity as a goal to be best approached by those who have been perhaps for the greater portion of their lives enrolled among the baptized members, if not actually among the confirmed communicants, of the Church. The Protestant emphasis, on the other hand, has generally been upon an initial experience, more or less pronounced, of conversion. The Protestant has hesitated even to baptize, and still more to receive to his other Sacrament, those who have not already made some marked progress in the graces of the Christian character. He has feared lest immature Christians might bring reproach upon the cause, uncertain ones might lapse, the clear distinction between the old life and the new might be obscured; and thus both to converts and watchful outsiders harm be done and offence be given. We have indeed here only painted the same contrast with which these two types of Christians stand over against one another here also in the home land. But the contrast is even more pronounced in the missionary field. This is notoriously the reason why statistics of the one body are practically incommensurable with those of the other. It is often put as if by this method the Roman Catholic Church actually sought vast numbers of apparent converts, not much concerning itself that part of the conquest was thus only apparent. This may sometimes have been the case. Records of the work of St. Francis Xavier show what entire confidence he had in the Sacrament, and how little he cared that his priests often knew no language in which they could communicate with their adherents. But we should be ashamed not to state the Roman theory in the best light in which its advocates might put it. Just so we would put the Protestant theory in the light in which it expresses true care for the souls of men and for the honor of the Church.

It is clear, when they are thus stated, that each theory has some-

thing to say for itself. Each stands for a truth. But each entails its disadvantages. The Roman Catholic Church thus gets nearer to the people, both—be it said—for its own good and ill. It lays itself open more largely to the accusation, and even to the actual temptation, of taking the unworthy or, in any case, the very dubious; of lowering its standard, and accommodating its claims. It actually enfolds within its ample bosom those who have but in slight measure separated themselves from the maxims and practices of their old life and from the influence of their surroundings. It grows used to this state of things, and takes up within itself, consciously or even unconsciously, not inconsiderable elements upon which no regeneration through a new spirit was passed. It presents the singular contrast of being the faith which professes to differ most absolutely from all others, yet visibly differing very little from the old faiths of its converts, and giving them but a confused sense of anything beyond an external allegiance to a punctilious routine for which it stands. The Roman Church, therefore, represents the phenomenon of the naturalization of Christianity in the Orient in a form in which it is only too easy to say that, if this is what is meant by the naturalization of Christianity, then the less we have of it the better. The more we keep clear of it, the more faithful exponents of Christianity we shall be. It is hardly too much to say of the historic example of De Nobilis's approach to Brahmanism in India, that it attained its success by parting with the most of what is characteristic in Christianity. The so-called Malabar Customs seem only too justly to bear the worst possible name. Even the zeal which the potentates of the French Church in contemporary China have sometimes shown to figure as actual magnates of the Chinese Empire, the recognition they have demanded as if they were officials of the realm, may conduce to some other things, but hardly to the understanding of the Christian religion.

On the other hand, the Protestant theory has the defect of its own quality. It is weak for precisely the same reasons for which it is also strong. In anxiously making something like Christian maturity the *sine qua non* of entrance upon the Christian body, it is setting a standard higher, it would seem, than the Master used to set. It deprives itself of its function as nourisher of the

weak, and the weak of that nourishing within the Church which would seem to be a beautiful attribute of the Church. It makes the Church to appear to be only a voluntary society of more mature persons, who have for reasons decided to become members of it. But these are the shadows of the Evangelicals' own light, even as we see them here at home. If at home it is easy for the thought, emotion, and conduct of the new-comer to Christianity to be forced into the mould of the experience of those who came a generation ago, so abroad it is only too easy for the pattern shown in the mount for the Chinese man, if he will be a Christian at all, to be the pattern regnant in England or New England. The whole drift is to the accentuation of that by which the Christian differs from his old self and his fellows. The tendency is to make the Church appear as the voluntary society of those who have been willing to adopt what the foreigner taught, and to conform to a mode of life in which it might sometimes almost seem as if studied reproach were cast upon antecedent and environment, and nothing were left of that which a man once held dear, and which those whom he loved now hold dear. The divisive effect of this situation is often pitiable. The influence of it for that which is conventional and artificial is evident. If the Roman Catholic faith has accommodated itself too much, has in given instances been completely swamped, has been at times in all that was essential done away; if it has thus in spite of apparent triumphs remained nugatory, as to some extent it has, the Protestant faith, on the other hand, has accommodated itself too little. It has been far less potent than it might, because it has been far less assimilated and less assimilable than it should. It has never sufficiently studied how far, and in what particulars, it might be assimilated, and in what not. To make a phrase, it has never been sufficiently recognized that accommodation is death, but that assimilation is life. To be conformed is one thing: to be transformed is quite another. And except a corn of wheat fall in the ground and die, it abideth alone.

The most interesting illustration of this which we know is the attitude of Christian missionaries in the matter of the worship of ancestors in China. This matter, as is well known, was the root of an old contention in the Roman Catholic missions. It is a

living, not to say a burning, question in Protestant circles in China at this hour. It has often been said that, judged in the light of its own principles, a Buddhism which tolerates the worship of ancestors, as does Buddhism in China, is a most singular combination. It has also been said, and probably with much truth, that, had Buddhism, transplanted to China, not tolerated the worship of ancestors, it would never have made the conquests which it did.

Matteo Ricci, the first great Jesuit leader in China, at Canton after 1581 and at Peking after 1601, was a man who carried away the Chinese of governmental and literary circles by his display of learning in mathematics and exact science as taught in the West, and who certainly, in his riper years, was a scholar of no mean pretensions in the Mandarin language and in his knowledge of things Chinese. It is well known that he allowed converts to continue to practise the rites of ancestor-worship, on the ground that he considered these rites purely civil in their nature. So surprising was the success of his mission and that of his immediate followers that high officials of the Empire became alarmed, and steps were taken to limit an activity which was constantly increasing. Moreover, Dominicans and Franciscans, learning of the success of the Jesuits, flocked to China, and the dissensions of the rival orders did more to imperil the position of the nascent church in China than did the opposition of the Chinese themselves. The Dominicans declared that ancestral worship was idolatrous and sinful. The matter being referred to the Pope, Innocent X sustained the Dominican view. But the Jesuits despatched a special agent to Rome, and Alexander VII reversed the previous decision, approving the opinion that the ancestral rites possessed only civil significance. A French bishop in China continuing the agitation, the Jesuits carried the matter before the great Emperor Kang-hsi himself. The Emperor, in a most interesting document, declared the custom to be political. Not to the physical heavens, but to the great Spirit, is adoration rendered in the so-called worship of Heaven and Earth. The worship of ancestors is the mark only of filial piety and veneration. As such the rites may be participated in by men of many faiths. But exactly as such they are of primary interest to the State. As connected

with the family and the clan system and with the maintenance of the social order, when they are denounced as pernicious, when it is sought to alienate men from them, the State must be alarmed.

In 1704, however, Clement XI recurred to the elder papal decision that the rites are idolatrous, and a papal legate arriving in China ordered all converts to desist from practices interdicted by the Pope. Kang-hsi was not the man to take that tamely. He made it known that all those who wished to break with the Chinese social structure would be outlawed. Missionaries were ordered to leave China upon pain of death. Converts numbering hundreds of thousands were deprived of their spiritual guides, and themselves subjected to bitter persecution. Escorted to the frontier, many of the priests returned in disguise. For decades their converts protected them. New priests from the West came in time to their aid. Their resolution and fortitude became legendary in the East. The succession never failed until the opening of the mission work again, far along in the nineteenth century. Incidentally we may say that the external history was not different in Japan. Here also, under the Tokugawa Shoguns, the effort was made to drive out the Jesuits for what seemed to be the attempt to set up a realm within a realm; although here, it is needless to say, this particular matter of the ancestral worship played no part. And here the persecution of the native converts was more terrible than anything that we hear of in China. In Tokio one may see ivory and metal crucifixes worn almost smooth by being trodden on as they lay in the path along which suspected hordes are said to have been driven between ranks of armed soldiery, those who would tread on the crucifix being spared, while those who would not tread into the dust the symbol of their faith were hewn down on the spot.

But to return to the question of ancestral worship, the problem was thus bequeathed to the Protestant period of missions. Difference of opinion concerning it obtains both among foreign Christians and Chinese adherents to the faith. Despite the utterance of the great Emperor and the oft-repeated opinion of many of the most enlightened men, the common man in China presumably makes no such fine distinction in filial veneration between the propitiation of a possibly aggrieved progenitor and

the homage which is natural to loving hearts and closely connected with that patriarchal social order which sometimes seems to be stronger than even the imperial government itself. A Sicilian gentleman would almost assuredly assert that it is not worship which is offered to the image of the Saint. But the Sicilian peasant does not make that distinction. The great mass of the Protestant missionaries assuredly would side with the Dominicans and not with the Jesuits in this matter of ancestral worship. It is not difficult, from the evidence of other matters, to accuse the Jesuits of accommodation, of the willingness to leave the convert in most respects as they find him, provided only the obedience at which these propagandists aim is secured. It is not so easy to explain away the Chinese Emperor's luminous utterance. Surely he knew whereof he affirmed. Still, the opinion which he uttered might well be true for men of cultivation like himself, and not true for the vast mass of the Chinese. Despite the inflexible position which most missions have taken, that ancestral worship must be abandoned entirely if a man is to become a Christian, there are not wanting distinguished men in the Protestant missions today who feel that here jealous and uncompromising Protestantism is mistaken; that it has made a mountain out of a mole-hill, a religious issue out of one which is social and secular; that it has made the way of the convert unnecessarily hard, the progress of Christianity needlessly slow; and courted the misjudgment of itself as socially subversive, in a way that it need never have done. In the end, the missionary will generally refer you to the native convert himself, and bid you ask him how he feels about it. The great majority of those questioned answered that they felt the worship of ancestors to be idolatrous. Yet even by this testimony interrogation was not allayed. The men were so essentially of the type above described as foreign Christians that one could not be sure that they were not sincerely echoing the opinions of their revered foreign missionary teachers and, incidentally, what they supposed to be the opinion of their interlocutor as well. Furthermore, it may well have seemed to these men, as to their teachers, that the safer course is to make a clean breach with many aspects of the popular religiosity, ancestor-worship included, in order to be safe from temptation and com-

plex situations. This may be practically true. But such practical reasoning does not settle the theoretical question as to what we really ought to think concerning the meaning of ancestor-worship. With the lapse of time, the sure tact, the racial feeling of the native Christians who are truly such, when the influence of foreign Christians is diminished or removed, will lead the Chinese Christian Church to a satisfactory conclusion of a question which no man can answer with entire confidence at this time. If the ancestor really is only one more among the many possible malevolent spirits whom the Chinese man must exorcise; if this worship is only part of the general nature superstition which has been such an incubus, and which now, with the advance of knowledge of nature, is being rolled away, then the ancestral worship, too, will go. If, however, it is something different, of nobler origin, and connected with the best and not with the worst traits of men, it will survive, no matter what the missionaries may say or do against it. It will be sublimated and ennobled as it comes to stand in clear relations to a higher thought of God and man. It will still express the fact that the Chinese man reveres the authors of his life and the traditions of his past in a way in which he feels that we wildly energetic, irreverent worshippers of the future do not revere our fathers and our past.

Ricci directly asserted that the worship of Confucius stood upon the same level with that of the ancestors—that it was a social and civil act, not a religious one. The implications of Kang-hsi's statement are the same. The judgment of most students of comparative religion agrees that Confucianism is not a religion, but merely an ethical system. Thus the veneration accorded to Confucius would be but the grateful recognition of one of the greatest benefactors of the human race, the father of the intellectual and moral life of thousands of millions of men through twenty-five hundred years. It is one of the curious episodes, therefore, of the year 1907, that by imperial decree it has been ordered that the same divine honors shall be paid to Confucius which are paid to Heaven and Earth. All sorts of questions arise in one's mind as he asks himself what this decree may mean. Is it the attempt to meet Christianity, so to say, on its own ground? Is it the attempt to galvanize the honor which China has always

done to its great teacher into divine homage, parallel to that which Christians so many generations ago accorded to their great teacher, the Galilean Jesus? Is it thus an attempt by decree to make Confucius to be more to the Chinese man than he has thus far been, and more like what the Christ of theology has been to the Christian Church and world? In an age when the influx of modern learning is displacing ominously the old study of Confucian literature, is this the effort to win the ears and hearts of men for the meaning of Confucius again? These are questions which the outsider asks. Among the Chinese themselves, there are not wanting those who assert that such an elevation of Confucius to divinity is absolutely out of harmony with the teaching and spirit of Confucianism; that it is absurd in the face of what Confucius indubitably said and did, and of the light in which he plainly wished himself and his influence to be viewed. But in state schools and elsewhere provisions have been made to enforce the worship thus enjoined. Participation in it is to be obligatory at least once a month; and, theoretically, no man can be in state employment who does not conform. Still, the enforcement has not yet anywhere been undertaken with great seriousness. In scores of cases Christian converts are refusing it. The whole situation gives much food for thought. Is this the retort of the Chinese to the absolutist view of Christianity which has generally prevailed among those who have brought Christianity into their midst? Can Confucianism be resuscitated in this way? Must it not go over into a syncretism in which a religious factor larger and more vital than Confucianism has ever shown itself to be will find place, but in which also the ethical and social philosophy of Confucius will be accorded an influence far larger than any Christian propaganda has yet assigned to them?

Every one knows the difficulties which missions in India have had in dealing with the question of caste. Almost with unanimity the emissaries of Christianity have declared the caste system to be absolutely opposed to the Christian ideal, and the Christian ideal to it. On the other hand, Indian society has almost uniformly driven the convert to Christianity out from his caste. In many cases it would be practically impossible for the convert to maintain the customs of his caste. For a long time the ad-

herents of Christianity were drawn very largely from the outcasts, whose social condition could not be worse, and might possibly be better, by any change which they might make. Needless to say, a great many other causes are at work in India today besides the spread of Christianity to weaken the hold of the caste system. But Christian converts are still obliged in a measure to create for themselves a social order outside the framework of the one with which they are familiar. It has been much easier to assail the caste system as iniquitous than to provide something which will in the long run take its place, or even to deal justly with the immediate situation which the abolition of the immemorial social order creates for these converts. Nothing is easier than abstraction and negation. One is reminded of the parallel in the case of slavery. It was comparatively easy to be an abolitionist, especially if you did not live in the slave-holding states. Comparatively few would now dispute the principle which was involved in the emancipation, though they may regret the immediate and wholesale enfranchisement. But there was in many quarters a pathetic waning of enthusiasm for the freedmen when the stage of abstraction and negation was once past. Gifts of a different order are asked for when it comes to the struggle of generations—and possibly it will be of centuries—to build up an economic, civil, and social order for the emancipated, or, as is always the true problem, to make the emancipated able to build up such an order for themselves. The parallel seems instructive. It is easy to say caste must go. The democratic trend of modern society makes itself felt even in India, now that India is in mid-stream of modern movements. But what to do with the men and, still more, with the women and children who, as the result of our teaching of Christian idealism, have become outcasts? That is the question. Or at least it is *a* question. How to sustain them now in love without making them feel that they are always going to be sustained in love. Nothing is easier than to get five thousand orphans on your hands and to utilize the occasion to instil into them the principles of the Gospel. But Christian sentiments are not going to be all of the Gospel which these orphans will need before their life is through. There is much that not missions only but also government must do; much which

the government is making splendid effort to do. There is much which only a new industrial order can gradually achieve. At the present, weak, helpless, many of them, the converts cast themselves upon the foreigner. The foreigner takes up his load, as he ought to do—this load which he has had such a part in creating. But these groups of large-eyed, docile Hindus, become semi-English or American, are not going to solve India's problem. The more completely they are in accord with the foreigner's ideas, the less they will solve India's problem. The bigger the groups, the farther is the solution away. Commerce, politics, and, most of all, education, are working this tremendous upheaval—not Christianity alone. And the immediate effect even of education is problematical. The people who think that if the missionary should withdraw all would be well again show little knowledge of the situation. The movement will go on. But it will go on best with the stripe of missionary who can address himself to the complex, subtle, overwhelming problem which we have endeavored to outline. The day of statesmen, builders of industries, educators and, above all, moulders of the character of men in a struggle which will last for generations, has come. The day of men who dreamed that the function of the emissary of the Christian religion was to stand and proclaim a doctrine, and that by sufficient multiplication of such emissaries we might give the Gospel to the world in the lifetime of men now living, is over. Such a result could be imagined only by one who had a sufficiently small notion of what giving the Gospel means. But though the foreigner may gird himself for this task with a light heart—or possibly with a heavy heart—he realizes in his best moments how much there is of it all which no foreigner can ever do. For East is East and West is West. Impalpable distinctions are insuperable. The greatest and best part of all that we mean, the Hindu must do for himself, the Chinese man must do for himself, or it will never be done. The Oriental world, even when it shall have become thoroughly permeated with the spirit of Christianity, will be still the Oriental world. The Orient will never become Christian in the sense of the transfer of what we think and feel, just as we think and feel it, to the Orientals. It has been mercifully provided that the trees shall

not grow into the sky. And though we sometimes feel depressed that the type of civilization which we know in the West, with all of its good qualities and all of its evil ones, will become dominant over the wide world—everywhere only this one monotonous type, so defective in itself, so unsuited to many peoples in the world, so vulgar and dreadful often we cannot deny—that, too, is a sort of a nightmare. Excesses may be at the moment rife. But we may have profound faith that the quality of races which God has for ages been making for himself will reassert itself, and that what of the Western influence is superficial will be thrown off. What is really made their own by these races will be made their own so truly in their own terms that our civilization and our faith will one day confront us in a different—and why should we not say in a better—light. If by the domination of Christianity in the world we mean the foisting upon the world of those notions concerning Christianity which we have, our zeal for missions would be far other than it is.

It is comparatively easy to say that polygamy and concubinage, as these exist and are recognized in China, do not comport with the Christian ideal. But it is a very difficult question to say what a convert should do who has stood in these relations, and has in the past in good faith assumed responsibility for others, both women and children, and given them a status which was not only in no way illegal but to which no stigma, and hardly even reproach, attached. Shall he signalize his new views of morality by repudiating these obligations and compromising the position of those who, under the old system, were not only not to blame but hardly even unfortunate? It is difficult here not to do evil that good may come; or, at all events, not to do good in a manner which entails much obvious evil to innocent and helpless ones. It might not be difficult to win assent for the proposition that, all things considered, monogamy is the ideal of society, apart from specific Christian or even religious considerations. But as the merest matter of fact it has not been the ideal of Chinese society. The home has existed for a large part of Chinese society upon the contrary assumption. There are few countries in the world in which the home has played a larger part than in China. There are few—possibly there are

no—countries in the world in which the family may be said to be more really the basis of the social order. There are few social systems in the world in which women have, within limitations, a more defined position, and have immemorially—particularly the older women, mothers and grandmothers—exerted a greater influence. Despite dreadful things which one hears concerning the mortality among children, there are few countries in the world in which the having and rearing of children is looked upon more generally from the point of view of duty and privilege, and few in which the love of little children is more in evidence.

One realizes that in touching this general subject he has touched the plague spot of the human race. But at all events, one who has lived to maturity with his eyes open in Europe or America can but have his moments of doubt whether a society like our own, which is theoretically monogamous and supposedly under the influence of Christian ideas, has much to boast of. In any case, if he is candid, it will not be easy to reply when the Oriental tells him that the same things which exist in his land, measurably acknowledged and provided for, exist in ours with the additional horror that they are not acknowledged and not provided for. No question whatever of the ideals. But how to deal with the sad facts? How to get from one system to the other without temporarily, at least, making matters worse rather than better? Or, to put it more pungently still, how to make the great idea prevail among these peoples not merely as well as it prevails among us but much better? Time and economic changes are bound to have the greatest effect upon the patriarchal system and upon the customs concerning marriage. But these are changes in which the foreigner can hardly more than point the way. They are changes which only the man of the race instinct and sympathy can work out.

It will be interesting to see whether the Chinese government and society will be more successful in enforcing a theoretically absolute prohibition of opium than the American government and social sentiment has ever been in the execution of the statutory prohibition of alcoholic drink. The English-speaking missionaries' protest against opium has been heretofore somewhat impaired in efficiency by the fact that, as the Chinese cannot forget,

the English had too much to do with the bringing of opium into the land. But the matter has gone now far beyond a mere protest, however sincere, of the religiously minded. The vice is so obviously ruinous, the havoc which it works so dreadful, that the Chinese people may be said to have risen against it in their might. The fact that, theoretically at least, the State will employ no man in any capacity who is addicted to the opium habit must have weight. The fact that families, villages, and guilds, inflict punishment, and even death, in a way of which the government takes no cognizance, upon members who become obnoxious, makes the way of the transgressor hard if his family come to think that he is wasting family property, or his guild to deem that he is impairing its good name. The democratic assertion of the right to get drunk or to smoke opium, if one pleases, does not go quite so far in China as it does in Massachusetts or even in Maine. The result of this is that the drastic prohibitory measures which have been adopted are on the whole more likely to be enforced in China than similar measures would be with us. Meantime the instinctive and just Chinese view of the Concessions and the extra-territorial governments supposed to prevail therein is not likely to be improved if opium dens, driven out from the Chinese quarters of a city like Shanghai, have only to cross the street to flourish again within the area which is under the foreigners' control. That this control has only too often nothing to do with Christianity is true. But that in a vague way the Celestial holds Christianity responsible, and in a very definite way holds Christendom responsible, is also true. The Christian religion does not gain by such facts as these. There can be no doubt whatever of the longing of China to be rid of the curse of opium. The sufferings of the struggle are acute. The missionary physician in his work of sympathy and mercy may possibly be able to exert, just now, an even larger influence and helpfulness than the preacher with his exhortation and denunciation—which latter are now hardly so necessary as of yore.

The problem of rendering the Scriptures into Chinese has not been an easy one. Indeed, despite the vast amount of learned labor which, ever since Morrison, has been expended upon the task, not even yet have satisfactory results been achieved. Mor-

missionary worked with two native teachers almost his whole lifetime in this endeavor. So great are the difficulties of the language that one, at least, of the greater Boards has always pursued the policy of giving to each missionary a native teacher, not always a convert, throughout the lifetime of service. These Chinese teachers act as secretaries and interpreters, and often in touring and school work as companions and general assistants. They have had their share in translation work and authorship, either supervised by the missionaries or at least instigated by them. For it is obvious that the Christian influence through literature would but make a beginning with the translation of the Scriptures. It would advance to the rendering into Chinese of works, both popular and scientific, pertaining to the interpretation of Scripture, and also of works of more general bearing upon the moral and social and intellectual life. Particularly the growth of schools has necessitated the production of text-books of all grades. The attempt to train native physicians has involved the translation of standard medical works of reference. Devotional books, and classics of the world literature, have found place in this ever enlarging catalogue of books rendered into Chinese. Any one who supposes that the missionaries of the last hundred years have done nothing but touring and evangelizing has a new impression in store for himself when he reads a publisher's catalogue of works of the kinds we have named, which have gone from the missionary presses in the old days, or are now going from the presses of the great publishing houses everywhere springing up.

It must not be forgotten that one of the things which have enhanced the difficulty of this work has been the number of dialects, or, almost you might say, of independent languages, which have obtained in different parts of China. Only one of these, the Mandarin, could in any way be regarded as a sort of a *lingua franca* for any large part of the Empire. And one of the most prominent centres for the intellectual life of the country, the Foo-chow province, is one in which the Mandarin is of no avail. In this respect India has presented a somewhat similar problem, while that of Japan is relatively simple. Furthermore, it will be understood that while the terminology of ethical discussion was in large part ready to hand for the Chinese of almost any

dialect, because of the immemorial interest of the people in these things, yet even here large advances had to be made in order to convey the meaning of the characteristic concepts of Western thought. In many of the other departments to which we have alluded, as for example in that of the natural sciences or medicine, the nomenclature had actually to be created. The state of things in which these subjects were taught in English had not arrived. A generation ago this situation would hardly have been prophesied, and a generation hence this condition may hardly obtain. All this means that a vast change is taking place in the language—or, perhaps we should rather say, languages. It means that work once fondly thought to have been done for all time will now clearly have to be done over. In all this change, both in the new development of the language itself and in the production of new books in the changed and changing speech, the educated and Christian Chinese will bear a far larger part than they have done in the past. They will bear a far larger part than the foreigners, teachers or missionaries, themselves in the production of an original Chinese literature of the sciences, of modern philosophy, of religion, and the rest; just as we have already an original and free Japanese literature of the sciences, of religion, and of Christianity. When one sees the crushing weight of practical cares, the exacting routine of practical activities, in which most missionaries have been involved, it is a wonder that the quantity and quality of literary work has been what it has. But it will be at once apparent that a great sphere is here opened for a missionary of a somewhat different type from that which has often, at least, in the past obtained.

We may take a leaf from the history of the Christian movement in Japan, or again in India, to convince ourselves how futile it is to render any books for these nascent Christian communities save the best which are current among ourselves. Large numbers of devout persons buy books here at home because the books say what these excellent persons have already long since thought. They might be interested to have these books translated into Chinese because they would describe the books as safe. But there is no large stable community of Christians in the Orient which buys books or listens to teaching because these latter say

what the Christians have already thought. They have not long thought about these matters. And they cannot be taught to think seriously about them in terms not germane to those in which they are rapidly being taught to think about everything else. It is painfully suggestive that in a country like Japan, where the Christian movement is so new and commitment to certain traditional views scarcely exists at all, a part of the public should speak scornfully of some current teaching of Christianity, whether in the pulpit or through the press, because this teaching seems to rest upon assumptions in science, philosophy, or history, which neither among the cultivated Japanese nor among ourselves any longer obtain. The foundations of the Gospel have indeed been laid in those lands in strata of the population in which such questions are not rife, and perhaps their Christianity is no worse for that. But we need to realize that, with the whole world of Western thought coming in on these people like a flood, the best and most earnest thing which we have to give is hardly good enough. What here merely grows out of our own past will not grow there at all where they have not that past.

Large use has already been made within Christian circles in China and Japan of periodicals and newspapers, the ephemeral publications which in any modern country have so much to do with the formation of public opinion. In respect of the number and quality of its newspapers Japan is the most modern of countries, and China is fast becoming such. It is a marvel how the newspaper press puts the news of the world at the disposal of large parts even of the Chinese public, and affords material by which, through cable transmission or through translation into the columns of the Anglo-Chinese papers, the facts concerning China from day to day might be used for the information of Europe and America far more largely than they are used, if the West were only more alert than it is to the importance of knowing from day to day what is happening in the Far East. One of the things which strikes most forcibly the quick observer as he travels in the Far East is the respectful tone of the Japanese, as also of the Chinese and the Anglo-Chinese, newspapers toward the Christian movement in these countries and the missionary cause. The native and foreign resident in these countries, in the large, appre-

ciates the bearing and influence of this movement, understands the facts, recognizes the achievements of the past through missionary labor. If he is keen in criticism of belated aspects and non-national tendencies of the movement, that is just what he ought to be. If he points out mistaken courses and assails injurious phases of the movement, he thereby renders the cause a service for which open and courageous minds are grateful. Such minds desire for their movement no privilege of not being spoken against. And those timid minds who do desire such a privilege are not likely to get it. The assault of the native press, often purely secular in tone, upon many aspects of the national worship, upon many injurious customs connected with the ancient rites, upon the expensiveness of idol processions, and upon the immoralities of priests, when these are in evidence, are often in a tone which the missionary and the specifically Christian press would not dare to use, and ought not to use, lest it should seem guilty of fanaticism. But ought we to accept the good results of the liberal and liberating work thus done by the press, and then expect immunity for the vices and foibles of the cause which we represent? But we repeat that the attitude of blind and unreasoning prejudice, of stupid abusiveness and vituperative speech at the very mention of a missionary, which so often betrays the gross ignorance of certain people in the West, even though they may have travelled, is practically never met with in those who are conversant in a large way with what is taking place in the East.

Already, in the paragraph concerning literature and the press, we have forecast much that it seems proper to say concerning the general educational movement, and particularly that part of it which may still be in Christian and foreign hands. We are not yet very far removed from the time when there was in China little demand for the foreign education offered in the mission schools except on behalf of the children of those who had already become converts to the Christian faith. These converts were so largely from the poorer classes that the education had mainly to be given away in order that the schools might have pupils at all. Despite the excellence of some work done, the schools made but little impression upon the Chinese people at large. Of the pupils thus

trained a great majority ultimately professed the Christian faith, and even found their way into the work of the Christian teacher or preacher. The educational aspect of the work was really subordinate to the evangelistic. It was felt to be so by the non-Christian community surrounding the schools. It was frankly declared so to be by some of the missionaries themselves. By some supporters of the missionary cause at home it was gravely questioned whether, even in the proportions which this aspect of the work had gradually assumed, it was to be fostered or suppressed.

How has the attitude of the Chinese toward all this changed within the last few years! How has the prevision of some missionaries been verified! How has the opportunity of the mission school been increased! And what an instrumentality for moulding the life of the nation through its youth has the mission school become, if only it is conducted in such a manner as to command unqualified respect as a school! The abandonment throughout the Empire of the civil service examinations in the Confucian classics and in the prose and poetry of the golden age, the turning of the popular mind for the moment almost in a feeling of resentment against the old system of education, is so complete as to seem deplorable. Temporarily, what is everywhere in demand in China is the Western education of the type which the mission schools have long sought to offer, and which they long offered in vain. What the schools founded by the viceroys in their provinces and by individuals of rank and wealth and public spirit throughout the realm are seeking to teach are the topics which the mission schools so long aimed to set forth with their limited means and in their smaller way. It may at some future day become a question whether the mission schools can keep the pace with these new institutions, with vast resources and the national consciousness behind them. But in the chaotic state of many of these new foundations, with the paucity of teachers which yet besets the whole educational scheme in China, with the vagueness of aim and the uncertainty of method which must yet for a little time prevail, that is not a very serious question yet. The graduates of mission schools are in such demand as teachers in the public and endowed schools, the compensation

offered them is so far in excess of anything which the little Christian communities can afford, that already the cry is heard that the ranks of the Christian ministry and of missionary helpers are depleted. Something like that wail we hear in our own country. But if our own country needs true Christian men in every walk of life, how much more must that be true of the land which is going through such changes as we see in the China of today! One thing is clear: it is a great chance for the mission school to have in their youth under training some of the men who in high station are going to be useful in every walk of life. It is a great chance to be allowed to train the teachers who are to go out to raise up another generation of teachers. It is even a greater chance to have been allowed to present the claims of the Christian ministry to a far larger body of men than before, and to train those whom you do train for the Christian ministry, not in isolation, but in contact with men who are being trained for other professions.

If we really look forward to the naturalization and nationalization of Christianity in China, then certainly the question of the Christian schools, and the attitude of the Christian advocates to all the schools, is of an importance which cannot be overestimated. If what we really look forward to is the raising up in the course of a generation or two of a sufficient number of men and women of intelligence and Christian conviction, who shall take upon themselves the whole responsibility of the Christian movement in China; if what we really look forward to is not the propagation of a foreign sect, the perpetuation of a foreign influence, but the permeation of the Chinese Empire with something of that same spirit of Christianity concerning which we have only to deplore that it permeates our own nation's life so little as it does—then the chance which the Chinese today are giving us to have part in the education of their youth is one which a few years ago would hardly have been dreamed, and a few years hence may, if neglected, be closed against us, or in any case much modified and impaired. It would be difficult to conceive a greater blunder than now to draw back from the educational policy upon which we have embarked. Foreign support of these schools and colleges in generous measure will for a time be necessary.

But Chinese control in growing measure, even of the institutions which have been endowed by foreigners, is the path along which their truest development is to be expected. Ultimately it must be upon the Chinese public that the responsibility for their perpetuation and increase must rest. If the history of such institutions in Japan, and notably the well-known case of the Doshisha, proves anything, it is this: that trust in the Christian community in these lands wins trust in return. Though there may be and must be misunderstandings as to the method by which the goal is to be reached, and pain may be caused to those who have given their lives for the institution, and again offence may be given to those for whose sake all has been done, yet, if only there be mutual understanding as to the goal to be attained, the issue is secure. The Christian movement in Japan has long since assumed proportions that make the attitude which a particular institution or individual foreign leaders may take toward the national movement a question of significance only for that institution or those leaders, and not of great consequence for the Christian and national movement itself. One might make the same remark as to the drift of the national churches of Japan toward independence and union. For the foreign ecclesiastical bodies with which they may have been denominationally connected to resist the desire of the Japanese Christians for freedom and their decision to ignore differences which they regard as for them meaningless is merely to make a sorrow out of the maturing of that for which we have striven, while that very maturing should be to us the cause of a deep and solemn joy.

But, before we leave this matter of education and go on to speak of the fortunes of the Church, let us make one more allusion, this time to medical education and its relation to the naturalization of Christianity in the Far East. That medical practice has been the right arm of the Christian movement, both in Japan in remoter times and in China until now, few would deny. If there is one application of a scientific education concerning which the Chinese are all eagerness at the present moment, it is this. The time is not yet far in the past when the superstitions of the masses and the interest of the practitioners of magic in the name of medicine made the foreign physician's lot a hard one. The

responsibility of all cases which he ever touched was laid upon him, even if these had been in fatal shape before they came to him. On the other hand, reasonable belief in his processes was refused him, even when he succeeded beyond hope. The belief in spirits makes, for the lowest of the people, the whole area of disease and suffering one in which cruel fear has sway. Yet in amazing degree the example and precept of foreign practitioners—most of them missionaries, of course—has had effect. The superstition about the evil spirits is vanishing. The people have become aware of the ignorance and helplessness of those who pretended to skill. They are in almost feverish anxiety to put themselves in possession of a few foreign medicines and of the maxims of their use. Cranks and charlatans are abroad without number. The foreign drug store, and the man behind the counter who deals out nostrums in the plenitude of ignorance to a population only more ignorant than himself, is much in evidence. The foreign physicians with their hospitals and dispensaries are too few and too widely scattered. Natives trained in these dispensaries by the missionary physicians under the old régime are too few. And though some of them are well trained others are not. The Chinese students who have studied medicine in Japan or Europe or America and returned to practise in their own country are fewer still. Away from the great open ports the conditions of practice are crude. Yet the need of the people, and the chance both to alleviate their distresses and, along with that alleviation, to impress them with the spirit of the Gospel of love and helpfulness is the same. The few medical colleges are overflowing. The whole aim must be to raise up hundreds and thousands of native doctors and nurses, whose knowledge shall be equal to their Christian devotion, and whose Christian devotion shall be equal to the sound scientific training which they shall have secured. For, while there is much medical practice in China which will be highly remunerative, there is no land where for a long time to come there will be so large scope for men who will do the healing works of Christ for no other guerdon than the love of God and man. Probably no one would think today of sending a missionary physician to Japan. Such a state of things is as yet far distant in China; but it must come. And the medical teachers whom

we now send, the medical colleges we establish, the hospitals and dispensaries now founded and endowed, where all these youth of the new China are to get their training—these are the instrumentalities which will bring on that day. The college is more important than the practitioner, and the native more effective than the foreigner can be.

But if what we have been saying is true of education, medicine, and the rest, it is the more true of the Church as institution, and of the organization of the specifically Christian life among these peoples of the East. The things which we have been discussing may be said to have been only some of the points of application of the Christian spirit in this invasion of the Orient by the civilization which has thus far been characteristic of the West—an invasion which is taking place upon an unprecedentedly large scale, and, more recently at least, with the consent and ardent wish of the Orientals themselves. And though it is true that in these lands the medical work, for example, has often been the means of overcoming prejudice and breaking down opposition which had proved otherwise invincible, yet we must flinch when it is put as if we fostered medical work because we expected by it to gain, furtively as it were, an influence over men's souls which else we might not gain. When it is so put as if a missionary society might not sustain a hospital or school as such, but only if it intended through that hospital as a means to further its propaganda for the faith, then we leave it open to right-minded men to hope that we may fail, and incidentally we open the way to ourselves to the sustaining of very poor hospitals. Is not the hospital itself an expression of the Christian doctrine of mercy and loving kindness and solicitude for the distresses of men? Is not the school an expression, in and of itself, of the Christian longing to know the truth and to be set free by it, and to give to others the freedom of the life which is by the truth? And does not the frank and fearless, but at the same time scrupulously honorable and gentlemanly, exerting of the influence of the Christian character on the part of physicians and teachers present exactly the same problem in China or Japan that it presents here in our own midst? And is not this the real contagion of the spirit of the Gospel?

The one thing which is certain is that all these things, Western education, medicine, business methods, governmental theories and practices, are going into the East in a resistless stream. The question is whether they shall be brought in only by those who are at variance with Christianity or indifferent to it, or whether the representatives of Christianity shall have their share in such works and their influence upon them just as they have done here at home. To that question, whatever may be the attitude of the zealots here at home, the history of missionaries in the field is a sufficient answer. As a matter of fact it has been the missionaries themselves who, for the most part, have been the inaugurators of the educational, medical, charitable, and philanthropic, of the social and humanitarian and ameliorating movements, which often win the approval of foreign residents and as well of native patriots in the East in a way that the direct religious work and ministry do not.

It is possible to lay hold of these, which are so to say the by-products of the Christian movement of these countries, and so to exploit them as to obtain for the general movement related to missions a support among non-Christian merchants and openly anti-Christian nationals which otherwise might not be obtained. It is possible to take these facts as showing conquests in higher classes than have heretofore been in sympathy with Christian missions, or at least approaches to those classes. It is possible in this way to collect on the spot a local budget which seems very large to the missionaries of regular Boards, since they would not be allowed to collect money for current expenses in this fashion, just as they are not allowed in any way whatsoever to enter into business or participate in the profits of any business. It is possible to spend money collected on such a budget from generous residents in the settlement and natives doing business there in such a manner as to make the missionary receiving his little salary from home appear but a poor man, and his affairs but picayune affairs as compared with those which take their place in the general lavish way of doing what the foreigner resident in the East decides to do.

It is impossible for an impartial observer to escape the feeling that that will be truly a rare class of men among whom not one

will sooner or later be demoralized, or at least gravely impaired in his judgment, by such freedom in the raising and spending of money. The maxim that it makes no difference what a good thing costs is true only for people of very good judgment. The habituation to such a maxim is likely to impair one's judgment. And perhaps the maxim is more true when one is spending his own money than when expending money raised for a cause. The lavish spending of money, especially if it can be possibly construed as spent in any way for personal ease or aggrandizement, is one of the most constant reproaches brought against missionaries and one of the most groundless. Those conversant with the facts realize that it can be only a vanishingly small minority of regularly accredited missionaries who ever have any money which they can spend in this way. But too great care can never be taken to avoid the reproach.

It is possible now to live for a few years in the East and do not a little missionary work of a kind, without knowing any language except English, since the most of those of higher castes and classes know less or more English. And all expansions of work and influence which are really such are to be welcomed and rejoiced in. But no one who knows the history of missions in the East in the last three hundred years can fail to be aware that work which has not been built up from the bottom is very precarious. The greater Boards have been right in appointing none but those who will commit themselves to the missionary career for life; in commissioning no men who have not had some form of actual professional training in addition to mere graduation from college; and in compelling all missionaries to learn the language before permitting them to take any large responsibility. The organization under Christian auspices of students for co-operation in moral and religious work is in foreign lands perhaps naturally upon the same basis upon which it stands here at home. Its function is perhaps largely that of organization and sympathy and inspiration. These have their value. But when one thinks of the subtlety and significance of the whole problem, one longs that in those lands, as also here at home, some way may be found to make and to keep the tie between the student movement and those who study. When one realizes what certain missionaries

who might easily be named have accomplished in study of the nations with whom they have cast in their lot; when one recalls the labor they have done in two languages, or in twenty—tasks of an intellectual industry which is nothing less than colossal—one feels like beseeching for the good of the common cause that these men who study be not forgotten in the leadership of the Christian student movements of those lands.

It is certain that neither in the West nor in the East does mere social or philanthropic work, mere ameliorative effort, show that power over the deep places of the personal life, that recreative influence upon character, which the specific religious propaganda has always set for itself. It will be possible in the East to demonstrate as truly as here in the West it has already been demonstrated that mere relief of the distresses of men may leave them only more selfish and vicious, more demanding and less dutiful, more rebellious and less responsible than they were before. So that the missionary who, in all the welter which faced him when he first came to these strange lands, kept close to the problem of the soul was, at all events, in the excellent company of his own Lord and Master, who also must have seen a thousand things about him which needed reforming and ameliorating. But despite that fact, or rather because of his profounder insight into these relations, he kept close to the problem of men's souls. There is, therefore, something very great and beautiful about the work and influence of men and women who for generations, in face of opposition from the men to whom they came, and despite obloquy and misunderstanding on the part of some at least of their own countrymen, have kept on their way, in poverty always, in loneliness often, and stuck to the task, subtle and disheartening in the last degree—the task of endeavoring, through the possession in the secret places of their own life by the spirit which is of Christ, to bring to others something of that same mind and inward life. They have sought to cheer, uplift, and fortify men and women by the touch of Christ for the life they had to lead. They have sought ever to create little groups, communities of men and women of a spirit like their own, which would make for the uplifting and glorifying of the lives of their countrymen. This is the phase of mission work which has preponder-

ated in the past. This is the phase for which alone, perhaps, there was room in the beginning in those countries and with the scant support from home. This is the phase which is just now in risk of being turned away from. It is the phase which is often spoken of slightly, relegated to a period of unsophistication, and generally regarded as a stage good to have outgrown. There is a general cheerfulness abroad, as if in the new stadium that is being entered upon missions were going to win credit and support where these had not been heretofore in large measure bestowed.

We can well believe that that age of relatively simple problems will some day be looked back upon as the golden age of missions, just as one looks back upon the boyhood of his son as somehow the golden age of the relations between him and his father; and just as the Christian Church looks back upon the period of apostolic fervor and simplicity, before the great amalgamation with the Graeco-Roman world took place, as the golden age of the Christian Church. We are very far from being pessimistic enough to believe that these are the golden ages. We mean only that the simplicity and more spiritual nature of their problems, as compared with the complexities and perplexities of later periods, may easily make them to appear such. In any of these cases what is meant is merely that the beauty of childhood is past. That is only another way of saying that the glory of manhood has come. If out of these earliest stages of missions, with all the limitations which may easily be pointed out, there have come—as there have—Chinese, Japanese, and Indian men who have within themselves the life which is by the spirit of Christ, that is enough. That life will take care of the changes which must come. But no changes which must come will necessarily produce that life.

For, the moment it is admitted that the naturalization and nationalization of Christianity is the thing to be aimed at and ardently desired, then it is evident that the nation is the real agent of that naturalization. If once it be recognized that the foreign form of statement or rite in which the foreigner, albeit necessarily, brings Christianity to this new land is not essential, but only incidental; that it is actually a hindrance and not a help to the appropriation of the real Gospel itself; that these forms are not

expected to perpetuate themselves, but only to do their work and be transcended—then it is clear that those who can, in the long run, do this transcending, and create the new and natural and necessary forms of statement, or organization, or rite, are the Chinese, the Japanese, the Indians themselves. The problem is not the building up of Christian institutions after the pattern which it would be natural for the foreigner to create, but the raising up of men who will create institutions after the pattern which will be natural to the Chinese when they have been created. Confucianism has never influenced the Christianity of the West in the least. But it is difficult to imagine a Chinese Christianity which will not have been profoundly influenced by Confucianism; precisely as the early Christian community in the West was, in its formative stage, profoundly influenced by Plato, who was as much the teacher of the whole Western world as Confucius has been of the Chinese. Of what use is it to teach Plato to the rising generation of the Chinese youth, except as a part of general culture, and as helping to explain how the Christianity current among us came to be what it is? But it is of every use that what is great and beautiful in Confucianism should be taught to these youth, who are to be the ministers and Christian leaders of China; who will surely think in Confucius' terms, as will also those whom they teach. The Buddhist literature has exerted as good as no influence upon Christianity. But it is difficult to conceive a Japanese interpretation of Christianity in which much that is in Buddhist literature will not have place. Because these things are true, these faiths are worthy of the most devoted study on the part of the foreign teachers of Christianity to the peoples named. But the most fruitful study will be that of the Christian Chinese and Japanese themselves, which may be likened to the delving of the Christian Apologists and of the early Fathers in that classical antiquity which was the background of the life of their races before Christianity had come to them.

And if we may thus speak with confidence of some elements which certainly will be represented in the naturalized Chinese Christianity to which we look, surely we may speak with equal confidence concerning some elements prominent in the Christianity current among us which will not be there. Of what inter-

est to the Japanese Christianity of the future will be the differences which divide the Protestant sects and make each of these to be what it is? By what possibility can the Chinese man make real to himself certain contentions which have long embroiled Christendom and brought reproach upon the name of Christ? There are quite obvious reasons for anticipating that these unhappy dissensions will never take root in the East, no matter how sectarians may try to have them. They will be buried in the East long before we cease to reckon with them in the West.

If one may put it paradoxically, he may say that the great task of evangelism in China or in the less accessible regions in Japan is not evangelism at all, but the education of Chinese and Japanese evangelists. Certainly it is already obvious that the great problem of the ministry and the churches in these countries is not the indefinite increase of the number of preaching missionaries from England and America to correspond to the wide open door which is set before the church today, but it is the indefinite multiplication of the native ministry and of natives as clerical and lay helpers of every sort. When one hears of a campaign to increase within a certain number of years the commissioned foreign missionary staff two or three hundred per cent.; when one has set before him statistics to show that even then the parishes of these ministering missionaries will be of such magnitude as to make thoroughness of administration impossible, one asks, "But how did we ever come to suppose that this was the way in which the work was to be done?" Such numbers of the foreign missionary staff seem not only impossible to send, but they would work to the suppression of the native church if they could be sent. They would hinder and not help its autonomous development. They would dwarf it by keeping for the foreigner the responsibility by which the native church should be made great. They would perpetuate the foreigners' standard for everything, and prevent the native mind and life from having its way. It will not be considered censorious to say that the fact that we have pursued this mischievous ideal of numbers for our foreign missionary staff even so much as we have is the reason why some part of every missionary staff is composed of such mediocre material as it is.

That we must send men without due regard to their quality and fitness is an obsession. Quite the reverse is true. At present, at all events, it would be far better to send no men than poor men; especially into these ancient and cultivated nations, with all the complex questions which arise in the transition through which they are passing or have but recently passed. In large areas of these countries and in large aspects of our work the function of leadership alone is left to the foreign missionary. It is only by fulfilling this function that the foreigner justifies his presence there. There are large parts of the work which the peoples of these countries can do for themselves far better than the foreigner can ever do it for them. With the situation at which we have now arrived, if we cannot within an appreciable time raise up a body of Christians who will develop their own ministry, support entirely their own churches, and overflow in their Christian activity for the good of their own land, and even begin to take interest in other lands, then our work is a failure, and Christianity as represented by such a mission has no reason to hope for a future in these lands. It is naturalization or nothing. An American who has spent his whole lifetime with Sir Robert Hart in the service of the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs recently said: "If we cannot through this service raise up Chinese who, in point of intelligence, integrity, and responsibility, can within an appreciable interval take this service off our hands, then we have labored in vain." Surely this is true also, and in even greater degree, of the Christian Church in that land. If a generation hence the cause of Christianity shall be so essentially exotic as it was much less than a generation ago, these peoples may well rise and exclude it as among the exotic things desirable to be excluded.

But it will not be exotic. It will not be excluded. The principles of which we have been speaking are so well understood, they are so sincerely acted upon by the spirits of light and leading on the field, that one must apologize to them for dwelling upon these principles here. It is surprising, however, how little these principles are understood and reckoned with among friends of missions at home. The hundreds of independent Christian churches in Japan, with their own ministers, educated in their own land, or even abroad, and in a manner bearing comparison with any

ministry in any land; with their own methods of administration, wrought out in their own experience; with their own organization for charity, philanthropy, reform, and for the extension and perpetuation of Christian interests in their country, are a demonstration of the thing of which we speak. And it must be remembered that there are in Japan about forty-five thousand such communicant members of Protestant churches alone, and in China about one hundred and eighty thousand. If the Japanese are sensitive, as many of them are, about the sending of any more missionaries to their shores, that can hardly be surprising. It is not that the foreigners now among them, to whom the debt of their cause is immeasurable, are not held in grateful honor and love, for they are. It is not that any foreigner coming among them with anything to say or do would not be esteemed according to the value of what he said or did. It is only that they feel that for a certain kind of missionary, sustained among them by a foreign organization over which they can exert no influence, they have no need. It is only that they feel that a considerable part of the Christendom of the West which is still zealous to send missionaries among them is so precisely because it has no idea of what the Japanese themselves have done for the Christian cause in their own land, and are now doing, and may be relied upon to do. They feel keenly the vast work which yet remains to be done, and would welcome any one who would join hands with them in doing it in those ways which seem to the Japanese, with their intimate knowledge of their own people, to be the right ways. But it is obvious in such a case that, notwithstanding the vast work to be done, it is not necessary to send any men but the very best. It might be wise if we should permit the Japanese to ask before any should be sent. One of the wisest of men, who has spent a long life in the service of the Christian movement in Japan, said not long since to a missionary in China: "You know the joy of doing for the Chinese. You are going in the near future to know the pang of seeing those whom you have raised up take things out of your hands somewhat, and do things, possibly not so well, but in their own way. And still beyond that you are to have the joy of seeing those men whom you have raised up walking by your side, and doing things so well that you feel that your own task and that

of your kind is mainly over, and that the future is secure." These things are not yet for China, but they are surely coming.

It would seem as if, in the line of what has been said, the policy of concentration of the foreign leaders of the Christian movement in the great centres was unquestionably the true policy for the time to come. It is no comment upon the vast amount of touring evangelism which the foreign missionary in these countries has done in time past to say that that will not be the predominant work in the time to come. Concentration, centralization, organization, unification—these must be the watch-words of the foreign leadership, or else it will not be leadership. And if the foreigners' work is not leadership, then it will not be long before the foreigner will have no work or place in this movement at all. In a wise and tactful, a spiritual and affectionate leadership, he may have a great place for a long time to come, and may render an inestimable service to the cause.

If one ever has his moments of misgiving about the working out in the hands of the peoples of these national churches of a problem so complex, and into the solution of which already so much that is precious has been poured, it may be well to recall an observation which every thoughtful man must have made many times concerning the propagation of religion in his own land, which is profoundly true also in the missionary world. There must have been times in your experience when, if you had listened only to the form of statement of faith inculcated and the type of doctrine advanced, if you saw only how the minds of zealous persons fix upon some rite or ceremony and insist upon some small detail as necessary to the faith, you might have been profoundly discouraged. But you realize that these are not the only sources of influence of the man who is in the pulpit or of the institution which we call the Church. Indeed, they are not the main sources. They may not be the sources of his influence at all, but even distinct deductions from that influence. You perceive that the fortitude, patience, and peace which average men and women show; the fidelity and courage, cheer and hope, purity and unselfishness, devotion to ideals, solicitude for others, which their life reveals—these are not only themselves the true fruit of the Gospel but they are the real working power of the

Gospel. It is these which do a large part of the work which is done. It is these which exert an influence which all the narrownesses and inadequacies alluded to are not able to destroy. These things are true at home, as every one of us must have discovered. They are even more true abroad, because these are the qualities which are universally understood. They are felt, and do not need to be understood. Language and race difference may make theoretical propositions which the missionary of the new faith brings, or which the newly trained native preacher sets forth, most difficult and his rites remote. But the character commands respect and reverence. It leaves an impression which never can be effaced. Far more than we realize, it is at this level of character, and by this possession of character, that the Christian propaganda has taken place and is now taking place. When we wonder at the apparent adoption of forms of thought and speech so different from those of the Chinese or the Japanese, it is not that this adoption of foreign forms of thought and speech explains the assimilation of the Christian ideal of character. Precisely the reverse is true. It is that the zeal and desire to be conformed to that type of character which the native sees in the Christian man carries along with it for a time the customs and forms of speech which he has heard associated with that character and spiritual influence. But those customs and forms of speech will be dropped off as easily as they were taken on, in the working out of the Christian character of the Chinese, of the Japanese, or of the Indians themselves. By this absolutely natural and spiritual process, at the level of the Christian character, an Oriental Christianity will arise, and the specific Occidental form of Christianity by which this great transmission of life was mediated will disappear.